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August 11, 1958

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Intelligence Advisory Committee

SUBJECT : Annual Report of Resistance Intelligence Committee (RIC)
for Fiscal Year 1957/58

1. The RIC in reviewing the flow of resistance intelligence in fiscal year 1957/58 noted some drop in both the quantity and the quality of intelligence on resistance following the extraordinary flow of information touched off by the relaxation of controls and unrest within the Soviet bloc during 1956. Publication of NIE 10-58 on March 4, 1958 provided a useful basic study on resistance intelligence and estimate on resistance potential as of January 1958. Although an effort was made to estimate the potential under conditions of war the Committee feels that a future revision of NIE 10-58 should give greater emphasis to resistance potential under various conditions of modern warfare, general and local, inasmuch as wartime resistance is the crux of the problem.

The trend of the flow was downward during the year (with some exceptions in the Far East) but was far from sinking to the level of the Stalinist period. [REDACTED]

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In the USSR, as soon as the increased volume of reports on anti-regime questioning and ideological deviation stemming from the World Youth Festival (July-August 1957) subsided, the flow of resistance intelligence dropped to a low level. A continued decline was noted in Hungary during the last half of 1957, and the flow was negligible in 1958. In Poland, the volume fell in spring 1958 as labor incidents diminished. The quantity of resistance reportage on East Germany remained stable, although a one-sided emphasis on opposition to the regime, particularly in raw, unassimilated intelligence material, still tended to create the erroneous impression that the regime was in trouble. There has been no change in the meager flow of resistance intelligence on Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania.

In the Far East, the main source of resistance information was the Communist press; [REDACTED]
In Communist China, the press source declined because of restrictions imposed on publication of statements by "rightists" and other dissenters.

[REDACTED] the Communist press to provide a continuing flow of reports concerning resistance activity in Tibet, and the press provided some information concerning dissidence in other minority areas, particularly Sinkiang. In North Vietnam, information on dissidence, particularly among intellectuals, continued to be available in about the

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same volume, mainly in the press; exploitation of defectors in Laos and improved South Vietnamese intelligence have provided additional data useful in assessing resistance potential. From North Korea there was a slight increase in resistance reporting, primarily as a result of increased exploitation of defectors.

2. Brakes upon manifestation of dissidence and ideological non-conformity were applied with increasing vigor throughout the Sino-Soviet bloc during 1957/58, resulting in the excommunication of Tito and the execution of ex-Premier Nagy late in the period. By June 30 the remaining source of slight deviation was Poland, and even here controls over popular expression of dissidence were greater at the end of the period. The obvious tightening of controls throughout the bloc frustrated hopes engendered by the previous relaxation; this may have increased popular bitterness although evidence is lacking.

The increased expression in the USSR of dissatisfaction during 1957 seemed to fall off during 1958, and a greater effort was made to bring ideological nonconformists into line. Some unconfirmed reports of court sentences for erring intellectuals were received early in 1958; expulsions of students from schools are known to have occurred. The activities of Jehovah's Witnesses in the Carpathian Ukraine resulted in court sentences in 1957. The drive against revisionist views, however, while increasing in intensity in 1958, still relied primarily on persuasion rather than repression and chiefly affected intellectuals. Peasant dissatisfaction tended further to decrease under the impact of Khrushchev's agricultural programs.

In Eastern Europe signs of resistance tapered off sharply as a result of the continued post-revolt cleanup trials in Hungary and high-level purges in Rumania, East Germany, and Bulgaria, which deterred would-be dissenters. Gomulka's warning to workers that strikes would no longer be tolerated, plus realization that his regime was the best possible for Poland under present circumstances, served to contain overt manifestations of dissent there. Accelerated collectivization drives in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Albania demonstrated the confidence of the regimes in their ability to maintain widely unpopular programs with little risk. In East Germany, for the first time since 1953, there were indications that the people regarded the regime's internal security position as virtually invulnerable. At the end of the reporting period, however, the East German regime itself apparently became concerned at the fact that pressure on intellectuals had resulted in an increased flow of refugees from professional classes.

The extent of resistance in Western China (Tibet, Chinghai, Kansu and Sinkiang) probably increased slightly during the spring of 1958. There also were renewed outbreaks among Tibetan tribes; none has been

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comparable to those of March-July 1956, however. As a result of strict governmental controls and the rectification campaign, resistance potential has probably declined in the rest of Communist China. On the other hand, resentment over the reversal of the Government's "100 flowers" policy probably has increased the level of dissatisfaction throughout the country.

Resistance activity in North Korea apparently remained approximately at previous levels and was manifested chiefly in passive resistance and general dissatisfaction with the regime. In North Vietnam it probably declined in intensity during the year with no reported outbreaks comparable to those of 1956; there were occasional strikes and manifestations of revisionist attitudes in intellectual periodicals.

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